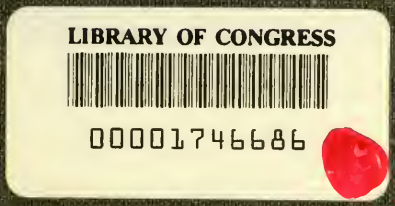

AFRICAN COLONIZATION

AND

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.*

BY J. BERRIEN LINDSLEY, M.D., D.D.

In the entire history of Christian effort and philanthropy, we doubt whether another instance occurs of such deep-seated, persistent, and long-continued misunderstanding and misrepresentation as in the case of the American Colonization Society. From the very conception of this great and humane enterprise to the present day, the objects, purposes, views, desires, and hopes of its projectors, advocates, and friends have been perverted, distorted, and hence opposed by able men from widely different points of view, and for very different reasons. So varied, so intense, so artful, so forcible, so plausible, so malignant have been these multiform attacks that nothing but the great Christian miracle of patience in the hearts of its few but faithful friends, and the inherent excellence of the cause itself, could have enabled it to keep head above water during the half-century since the project first took practical shape in the mind of a true-hearted, humble, Christian educator.

Unhappily, just about the time that the philanthropic and devout Finley, of New Jersey, was attempting to get the attention of American statesmen and churchmen to what he then conceived, and what we now know, to be one of the widest-reaching and most pregnant schemes of the prolific nineteenth century, the questions connected with the famous Missouri Compromise debate also began to agitate the country, literally

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from center to circumference. The *odium theologicum* has long been a by-word with moralists, and an opprobrium and stumbling-block with unbelievers. We hold, however, that it is as honey to gall when compared with political virulence, and that, indeed, it is ordinarily and truly but an offshoot, or else constituent part, of the latter. So it came to pass that jaundiced eyes were immediately turned upon the founders of the Society and all connected with it, although it was also at once indorsed by many most prominent and influential public men. It was directly concerned with *Africans*, and thus with slavery; and when this is written the whole tale is told, for upon this subject we all understand that the whole great American people have for some fifty years been either demented or else, in the righteous providence of God, for wise and gracious purposes, given over to wild delusions. Nations have their personal religious experience as well as individuals. Let us hope that the infatuation has passed away, and that speedily affliction will have wrought its proper work, and that all this mighty nation will awake to righteousness, gird its loins, and go about its heaven appointed work of conveying the light of Christian civilization to the great continents on its right-hand and left.

One singular misconception, prevailing from the start until this very day, and, because of its bearing upon the productive ability and hence financial interests of the nation at large, adapted to arouse insidious and deeply self-interested opposition to the colonization scheme, is the idea that its advocates wish and intend to transport the vast African population of the United States to its original seat. President Dew, of William and Mary College, published an exceedingly interesting, well-written, and powerful pamphlet against the Society, based upon this view. I read it, twenty odd years since, on one of the old-time, magnificent packets between New Orleans and Nashville, being kindly favored with its use by a planter. It was a perfectly stunning argument, showing, as clearly as that two and two make four, that the Colonizationists were as visionary as any of Dean Swift's Laputan philosophers, since, by the elastic law of population, just as fast as a few thousand liberated slaves were conveyed by slow-sailing ships to Liberia

their places would be refilled by the increased fertility of the race caused by this very removal itself. And thus the good Finley, with Henry Clay, and all the rest of them, were merely engaged in rolling up the stone of Sisyphus, and with no better success. We have since read the same line of argument in Villermè and other eminent publicists, but by none of them have we found it so thoroughly elaborated and so well expressed as by President Dew. Of course, it was to us a *fulmen brutum*, as we knew very well what Dr. Finley and his associates proposed and what they did not propose. They proposed then, as now, to remove Christian African freedmen to Africa, for the sake of promoting the highest interests of these freedmen, and for the sake of Christianizing the great and populous continent of Africa. The friends of Liberia have never been so ignorant of history and political science as to suppose that it was either desirable or practicable to remove three or five millions of men, women, and children across a wide expanse of ocean, unless there was a greater stimulus behind these millions than was either in Finley's time or is in ours. Strange, indeed, would have been such an error, for the founders of the American Colonization Society were among the most eminent educators, divines, and statesmen of the day. They had their head-quarters in the City of Washington, and were in every way so situated as to be just the very last men to make so gross a mistake.

If a great and deeply-learned man like Dew, of William and Mary, should thus misjudge the scheme of Finley, we need not be surprised to find similar perverted ideas taking possession of narrower minds connected with leading and influential current magazines and journals. Since undertaking, a few months ago, to prepare this article for the *Theological Medium*, a quarterly to aid which every Cumberland Presbyterian minister should hold himself ready when called upon, I have met with a long article in a leading New York daily, from the pen of a traveling correspondent in the Southern States. I laid it aside, intending to copy it here, but time and its length forbid. It is a forcible delineation of the great evil which the Colonization Society will inflict upon the South by tempting away from its limits sober, industrious laborers

just at the time when such useful citizens would be most valuable in repairing its waste places. This argument and objection, in fewer words, I have met perhaps a thousand times since the memorable year 1865, repeated by writers in every part of the land. Now, if these people, who are so stingily afraid of bestowing a little of American enlightenment upon that Africa which has done so much to create American wealth, will carefully read President Dew's able pamphlet, abovementioned, they will at once dismiss all such fears. The American Colonization Society may, during the next decade, and the next, assist so many Christian-minded freedmen to their forefathers's land as to dot it from tropic to cape with mission-stations, and yet the African vote and the African labor in the South remain undiminished.*

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* President Dew was one of the profoundest and most influential writers of his day on government, history, and political economy, although he died under forty-four years of age. He furnishes an illustrious example of the stupidity and lethargy of our Southern people in all matters intellectual. While his lectures and essays, written in the quiet of a village college, inaugurated, according to John Quincy Adams's opinion, a new era in the history of the country, yet no pains have been taken to collect and print them; and his fugitive pieces, as well as his larger works, are but little known to students and general readers. Even Allibone, equally noted for minute accuracy and untiring industry, makes two individuals of him, and then gives but a meager and imperfect idea of his life and merits; nor is he to be blamed, since materials for judgment were not at hand, as in the case of all English and Northern authors. Our great vehicles of daily mind-food a year or so ago passed around a sharp paragraph from the New England aristocratic iconoclast, Wendell Phillips, in which he terms the whites of the late Confederate States eight millions of dunces. It is very true that this is absurd enough as a wholesale description of the people whose Washington founded the republic, and gave luster to the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world and for all time; whose Madison, by consummate wisdom, unequaled prudence, and profound knowledge of political science, did more than any or all others to shape and indite the best Constitution of human government ever committed to writing, and is justly called its father; whose Jefferson displayed, in the Revolutionary Congress, at the French court, and in the Presidential chair, diplomatic and administrative ability which won the plaudits of the world, and more than doubled the territory and glory of his country; whose Marshall, during thirty-five years as Chief-justice of the land, won laurels for the legal profession not more by the high moral qualities which so richly adorned his character than by the profound

From 1830 to 1860 the American Colonization Society was exposed to pitiless attacks by fanatical and selfish parties on precisely different grounds in the antagonistic sections of the

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learning and strong intellect exhibited in his decisions; whose Jackson, by unsurpassed bravery and military skill, at the head of a small army of Western riflemen, saved his country from the assaults of Wellington's veterans, and as President, in times of violent dissension, won the high eulogium, reëchoed from ocean to ocean of late, to the effect that had Providence given us a second Jackson in 1856 we would have been spared an Iliad of woes; whose Polk, the very type of a pure-minded ruler, extended the boundaries of the empire westward to the confines of the populous Orient; whose Clay, by his eloquence, swayed alike the senate and the hustings, and led captive hosts of idolatrous followers from Maine to Georgia; in short, whose public men fill the foremost place in the annals of our country's history, while her private citizens do more than any other equal number in creating public wealth. Yet Mr. Phillips, sitting within the four walls of his richly-furnished library, and looking at its shelves alone, may be excused, because in all this matter of writing and printing the South has done itself great injustice. Its heroes are not commemorated; its authors are not remunerated. As, in the first quarter of this century, the witty and potent Sydney Smith, by asking, in the trenchant *Edinburgh Review*, "Who reads an American book?" cut to the quick the pride and self-esteem of the American people, and thus became a public literary benefactor, so may our *kind hearted* Boston neighbor become instrumental in a literary revival throughout the South; and let the first employment of the pen and of the purse be the pious one of honoring those who have gone before and made us. Their lives and deeds should be recorded; their works should be published, and preserved in multiplied public libraries. No people ever became a literary people by merely studying and imitating others. It must have its own history, ideas, and literature; it must go back and build upon itself, however modified by the outside and surrounding world. Let the stigma be wiped off. Let Virginia, the mother of States and of statesmen, and of universities, imitate the whole-souled liberality, the honorable sectional pride, the admirable filial piety of Massachusetts, and give to the world complete editions, handsomely printed and carefully edited, of all that can be gathered up from the pens of its Marshalls, Lees, Masons, Dews, and their numerous compeers. O ye rich men of Richmond and Norfolk, of the Valley and of Piedmont, hasten to wipe away from the Old Dominion the opprobrium that annually within her borders more time, thought, and money are expended upon demoralizing horse-racing than upon keeping bright and polished the monuments, warm and green the memories of the noblest army of patriots, heroes, and sages with which any commonwealth was ever blessed by the Supreme Benefactor of nations!

wide-extended Union. Throughout the North, particularly in the New England States, the most active and influential in forming public opinion, a very energetic and eloquent warfare was kept up against it as encouraging and abetting the sin of slavery. So violent and so successful was this warfare as almost to neutralize the efforts of the Society to secure an impartial hearing. Only by heroic perseverance and a patient tenacity of purpose, rarely equaled and never surpassed, was it enabled to make head against its formidable foes, and to maintain its organization and fruitful activity. In the Southern States, on the other hand, the narrow-minded and suicidal jealousy too often and too fatally exhibited by large capitalists against all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the laboring masses, and to elevate the poor, led to the same results. As the anti-slavery crusade in the north-eastern corner of the Union grew stronger of tongue and more potent of pen, so did the anxiety and timidity of accumulated capital in the South, particularly in the extreme Southern States, become more and more mercurial and easily alarmed. Hence, in these States African colonization was looked upon with great suspicion as being the forerunner of revolutionary abolitionism. Very soon this suspicion was proclaimed, and the Society rendered so odious as to be compelled to restrict its operations mainly to a few border States. Yet, during this long, tedious dwelling in the wilderness of folly, contention, and strife—amidst the hootings of discordant passions and the howlings of wild imaginings—the heaven-guided advocates of African regeneration held on unmoved in the course first marked out by the founders of their organization. It had nothing to do with the intrinsically-momentous questions connected with the continuance or termination of slavery. In each State these were to be settled on their own merits, precisely as had been the case during the period from 1776 to that of the formation of the Society. It was neither pro-slavery nor anti-slavery: it was a great Christian mission for the benefit of individuals and of two continents.

The many minor points of prejudice and attack, varying with change of locality and time, our space does not allow us to state. All these, with the grand difficulties above imper-

fectly outlined, will be best commented upon by a brief sketch of the origin, aims, and results of the Society:

The sentiment out of which it grew, more or less definitely formed into specific plans, was everywhere tending to realize itself in beneficent action for the colored race. This sentiment gushed forth at many points; so that many persons have been named as the originators of our enterprise. And there is some ground for each of these claims, and, doubtless, for many others that might have been advanced. They were originators, as truly as if there had been no others. Their relative merits cannot be settled by chronology, for the thought was often as fresh and original in the later projector as in any that had preceded him.

The earliest movement known to have any historical connection with our Society was the visit of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I., to his neighbor, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, April 7, 1773. The diary of Dr. Stiles has preserved the record. Dr. Hopkins proposed to educate two pious negro youths for the ministry, and send them to Africa as missionaries; hoping, evidently, to send more in time. He needed assistance to meet the expense. The more practical mind of Dr. Stiles suggested that the enterprise would not succeed in that form; that thirty or forty suitable persons must be sent out, and the whole conducted by a society formed for the purpose. This idea of a purely missionary settlement grew, in a few years, into a definite plan for a colony, with its agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests. August 31, 1773, Drs. Stiles and Hopkins issued a circular, inviting contributions to their enterprise. February 7, 1774, a society of ladies in Newport had just made their first contribution; and aid had been received from several parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. November 21, two of the young men sailed for New York, on their way to Princeton, N. J., to be educated under Dr. Witherspoon, president of the college.

The War of Independence suspended these labors; but the plan and the purpose survived it. In 1784, and again in 1787, Dr. Hopkins endeavored to induce merchants to send out a vessel with a few emigrants, to procure lands and make a beginning, and with goods, the profits on which would, of course, diminish the expense. In March, 1789, he had consultations with Dr. Willlam Thornton, "a young man from the West Indies," who proposed to take out a company of free blacks, and found a colony in Africa. A number volunteered to go with him, but the enterprise failed for want of funds. Dr. Thornton was afterward a member of the first board of managers of the American Colonization Society.

A month later, Granville Sharpe and others sent the first colonists from London to Sierra Leone. This design was already known to Hopkins. Perhaps, too, Sharpe had heard of the plans of Hopkins, as they had been well known in England for some years; but they had no direct intercourse with each other till Hopkins wrote to Sharpe, January 15, 1789, inquiring whether, and on what terms, and with what prospects, blacks from America could join the colony. There were then "Christian blacks," desirous to emigrate, enough to form a church; and one of them was fit to be its pastor.

Unsuccessful in this, he continued his labors. In 1791, he wished

the Connecticut Emancipation Society to be incorporated, with power to act as an education and colonization society. In 1793, he preached a sermon before a kindred society at Providence, which was published with an appendix, in which he advocated almost the exact course of action afterward adopted by this Society, and urged its execution by the United States Government, the several State governments, and by voluntary societies.

Hopkins died December 20, 1803; but the influence of these labors still lived. They must have been well known to Capt. Paul Cuffee, of New Bedford, and the thirty emigrants whom he took to Sierra Leone in his own vessel, early in 1815; and in 1826, two of his "hopeful young men," Newport Gardner, aged seventy-five, and John Nubia (known in Hopkins's correspondence as Salmur Nubia, and familiarly in Newport as Jack Mason), aged seventy, hoping to move their brethren by their example, sailed from Boston in the brig "Vine," the eighth vessel sent out by this Society.

The next movement having any historical result was in Virginia. December 31, 1800, the Legislature, in secret session,

"*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed."

The Governor, Monroe, in communicating this resolution to the President, stated that it was passed in consequence of a conspiracy of slaves in and around Richmond, for which the conspirators, under existing laws, might be doomed to death. It was deemed more humane, and it was hoped not less expedient, to transport such offenders beyond the limits of the State. President Jefferson favored the idea, discussed the objections to several locations, said that "Africa would offer a last and undoubted resort," and promised his assistance. The Legislature, January 16, 1802, directed a continuance of the correspondence, "for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of" the United States, "to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum;" requesting the President "to prefer Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America." This resolution differs from the former, in that it does not contemplate a penal colony, and does contemplate increased facilities for emancipation, in a mode which the State did not esteem dangerous. The President corresponded with the British Government concerning Sierra Leone, and with the Portuguese concerning their possessions in South America, but without success. In 1805, January 22, a resolution was passed instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives from that State to endeavor to procure a suitable territory in Louisiana. No action followed, and the matter slept ten years. Yet the proposition of Ann Mifflin, and the correspondence of John Lynd with Thomas Jefferson, in 1811, showed that the idea was still alive and at work.

Another of these numerous origins must be noticed. In the spring of 1808, a few undergraduates of Williams College, Massachusetts, formed themselves into a society, whose object was "to effect, in the persons of its members, a mission or missions to the heathen." In about

two years, this society was transferred to the Theological Seminary at Andover, of which most of them had become members. Here they procured the formation of a "Society of Inquiry respecting Missions;" and there was thenceforth the chief seat of their labors. With becoming modesty, they regarded themselves as little else than mere schoolboys, competent, indeed, to make inquiries, collect information, and discover wants that ought to be supplied, but needing the guidance of older and wiser men to mature judicious plans and execute them successfully. The proposal of four of them to go on a mission to the heathen in foreign lands led directly to the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Suggestions from these young men, or some of them, also led to the formation of the American Bible Society, and, though in some cases less directly, several other kindred institutions, for which the state of feeling in the religious world was prepared.

Samuel J. Mills has been commonly regarded as the leader of these inquirers. With a companion, he made a journey of inquiry through large parts of the new settlements in the United States, especially the south-western part. He came back with the knowledge of many wants to be supplied, and fully convinced that, to use his own words, "we must save the negroes, or the negroes will ruin us;" and that there was so much at the South of right feeling toward the negroes that something might be done toward saving them. The matter was abundantly discussed. A colony was proposed somewhere in the vast wilderness between the Ohio and the great lakes. But one of them, at length, objected to that location. "Whether any of us live to see it or not," said he, "the time will come when white men will want all that region, and will have it, and our colony will be overwhelmed by them." So they concluded that the colony must be in Africa.

Mills went to New Jersey, to study theology with Dr. Griffin, at Newark, and still more, as Dr. Griffin soon thought, to engage him and other leading men in that region in considering whether certain good objects could be accomplished, and how. While there, he originated the school for the education of pious blacks at Parsippany, some thirty miles from Princeton. It was placed under the care and patronage of the Synod of New Jersey; and thus the Presbyterian clergy of that State were brought into active connection with Mills and his idea of saving the negro.

Among the most eminent of that clergy was the Rev. Dr. Robert Finley. No record has been found of any direct intercourse between him and Mills; and there is no reason to suspect that Mills furnished him with a plan of a society, to be formed at Washington, for colonizing free blacks in Africa. That plan seems to have developed itself in his own mind, while contemplating that class of facts to which Mills was so busily calling attention; and it is certain that he had it under consideration as early as February, 1815. From about that time, he was industrious in recommending it to his friends; but they, while admitting that its object was good, generally distrusted its success. After probably nearly two years of such labor, he called a public meeting at Princeton, to consider the subject; but few besides the Faculties of the College and the Theological Seminary attended, and only Dr. Alexan-

der appears to have aided him in commending it. Still he persevered; and when Congress assembled, early in December, 1816, he repaired to Washington, to attempt the formation of his proposed society. On his arrival, he went at once to his brother-in-law, Elias B. Caldwell. That these brothers had previously corresponded on the subject is a probable conjecture, but not a known fact. Yet the idea of colonization was not then new to Mr. Caldwell. It had already been suggested from another source.

Late in February, 1816, the Virginia secret resolutions and correspondence of 1801–5 first became known to Charles Fenton Mercer, a member of the Legislature of that State. Not being under the obligation of secrecy, he at once made them known extensively in the State, and pledged himself to renew them at the next session of the Legislature. Being at Washington—it must have been in March or April—he made known the facts and his intentions to two friends. One was his old schoolmate at Princeton, Elias B. Caldwell, who approved his object, and promised to use his influence with his Presbyterian friends in New Jersey in favor of it. The other was Francis S. Key, who would attempt a similar movement in Maryland. General Mercer redeemed his pledge. His proposed resolution passed the House of Delegates, December 14, by a vote of 132 to 14, and the Senate, December 23, with one dissenting vote. This was done without any knowledge of the plans and movements of Dr. Finley for forming a society, and indeed without any expectation that a society would be formed. His idea was that colonization would be carried by the State governments, under the sanction and protection of the National Government. Still, this expression of Virginia's mind rendered important, and perhaps indispensable, aid to the formation and success of the Society; for the action of the House of Delegates was known in Washington before General Mercer's resolution had passed the Senate, and before any public meeting was holden to form a society.

To arrange that meeting, and secure attendance upon it, cost Dr. Finley no slight labor. The goodness of the object was generally admitted; but, at the preliminary consultations, those invited and expected were generally absent. Charles Marsh, member of Congress from Vermont, noticed this disposition of almost everybody to leave this good work to others; and, as this was the only project that he had ever heard of promising great good to the black race, he determined that it should not be allowed to die in that way. He decided that those who knew the plan to be a good one should attend the meetings. Of course, as all who ever knew his inexhaustible adroitness and persistency will easily understand, "a very respectable number" of them attended the first public meeting, December 21, 1816. Henry Clay, in the necessary absence of Judge Washington, was called to the chair. Elias B. Caldwell, the brother-in-law of Dr. Finley and the schoolmate and friend of General Mercer, perfectly informed of the plans and movements of both, made the leading argument in favor of forming a society. He stated that public attention had been called to the subject in New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other places. He was supported by remarks from John Randolph, of Virginia, and Robert Wright, of Maryland. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution, and the meeting adjourned for one week.

At the adjourned meeting, December 28, the committee reported a constitution, which was adopted. Fifty gentlemen affixed their names to it as members. The twenty-third name on the list is Samuel J. Mills. What brought him there at that time, and what he was about while there, we can only infer from other parts of his history.

January 1, 1817, the day fixed by the constitution, the Society met for the election of officers. Hon. Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, was chosen president, with twelve vice presidents, from nine States, including Georgia, Kentucky, and Massachusetts, and one from the District of Columbia.

Thus the Society was formed and organized, not by the labors of any one projector, or by the influence of a movement in any one part of the country, but by the union of the tendencies which, remote from each other and independent of each other, had been working toward that result for more than forty years. That the Virginia movement, or the New Jersey movement, or the New England movements, would have accomplished any thing, without the union of all, some may perhaps believe, but facts have not proved. Its true origin was in the desire of good men everywhere to do the best thing then practicable for the black race, in this country and in Africa—that desire prompting all these movements, and sustaining them when providentially united in one.

From the foregoing concise but lucid account of the origin of the colonization scheme, for which we are indebted to the "Historical Discourse" of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, D.D.,* it is perfectly evident that while this movement was fostered by a great variety of individuals scattered throughout the country, representing different branches of the Church and different parties in the State, yet two leading motives were prominent and powerful. The one was a desire to promote the improvement and welfare of the individual colonists: the other was, through them, to Christianize Africa. It was throughout a Christian and philanthropic project. This will appear the more plainly by looking at the lives and characters of its advocates, and by studying their own declarations respecting their purposes.

Robert Finley, who first gave the plan definite shape by

* After turning over the pages of a score or two of volumes, and noting many passages bearing upon the subject, I took up the elegant "Memorial of the American Colonization Society, January 15, 1867," and, finding the work admirably done to my hand, I have taken the liberty to use it *in extenso*. This is done, not to save labor or time, but because this sketch may be regarded as an authoritative exposition from the official leaders of the Society; and I can vouch for its candor and faithfulness from personal investigations.

bringing to bear upon it the modern and efficient agency of free nations—associated effort—was a distinguished divine and educator, of New Jersey and Georgia, being President of the University of the latter State at the time of his decease. My own honored and sainted father was his pupil at Basking Ridge; and among the earliest names I learned to venerate and love for all that constitutes the perfection of Christian excellence was that of Dr. Finley. His inner life is well exhibited in the following letter to a friend, John P. Mumford, Esq., of New York, which also illustrates the historical fact that the Colonization Society had its origin in the spirit of missions. From the "African Repository," vol. i. p. 2:

BASKING RIDGE, Feb. 14, 1815.

DEAR SIR:—The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labor to execute, plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness, too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their color, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established?* Could they be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise: we should be cleared of them; we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and Christianized for its benefit; and our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much upon this subject, and then, please, write me when you have leisure.

The other most active person in pushing along this cause to a happy issue was Mills, of Connecticut, a name conspicuous in the annals of the American Protestant Churches. What manner of man he was can best be brought before our readers by copying from the "African Repository," vol. i. p. 63, date April, 1825, the following eulogium, by the eloquent pen of the now eminent Dr. Leonard Bacon, of Hartford, written a few years after the death of its subject, and while as yet all his great schemes were mere beginnings:

A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend, "My brother, you and I are little men, but, before we die, our influence must be felt on the other side of the world." Not many years after, a ship,

returning from a distant quarter of the globe, paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on the deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him. And they consigned that body to the ocean. It was the body of the man who, in the ardor of youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend his influence through the world. He died in youth, but he had redeemed his pledge; and at this hour his influence is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country. This man was Samuel John Mills; and all who know his history will say that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations nor the result of his efforts. He traversed our land like a ministering spirit, silently and yet effectually, from the hill country of the Pilgrims to the Valley of the Missouri. He wandered on his errands of benevolence from village to village, and from city to city, pleading now with the patriot for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the Christian for a world lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolations of the West, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and effort the Churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee, and died in the service of Africa. He went to heaven in his youth, but his works do follow him, like a long train of glory that still widens and brightens, and will widen and brighten forever. Who can measure the influence of one such minister of the gospel?

Finley and Mills had the faith which moves mountains. By them were wrought miracles quite as conspicuous as those of Vincent de Paul, Xavier, or others to whom the Roman Catholic Church accords the honors of canonization; and, in common with these and their compeers of mediaeval and apostolic times, their names will be held in lasting remembrance by the true Church universal, until the millennial day.

As the two foremost names in the actual establishment of the Society were noted for activity and practical zeal, so the two forerunners of the scheme, in the days of British rule, were remarkable for the combination of deep theological lore with an earnest interest for human progress, which, in our own days, has characterized Chalmers and Channing. Samuel Hopkins was the student of Jonathan Edwards, and was for thirty years pastor at Newport, Rhode Island, and eminent as head of a school in theological controversy called, after him, "Hopkinsian." "He had many qualities fitting him for a reformer: great singleness of purpose, invincible patience of research, sagacity to detect and courage to oppose errors, a thirst for consistency of views, and resolution to carry out his principles to their legitimate consequences." A typical char-

acter, he has passed into the domain of romance as the hero of Mrs. Stowe's "Minister's Wooing." His coadjutor was Ezra Stiles, pastor at Newport for twenty-one years, and President of Yale College for eighteen years. Noted for learning, eloquence, and piety, he ranks very high in the list of the great men who have been connected with that venerable institution.

If the precursors and founders of the Society were men of such mark, the followers and aids coming at their call were composed of such material as could be found at no other period, in no other place, and under no other circumstances in our country's domain or history. There is open before me a page containing, in a list of fifty names, the original members. First is H. Clay, who devoted his life to advocating the "American System," and, a little below, that of John Randolph, of Roanoke, who devoted his life, with equal pertinacity and more success, to the destruction of that system; both, however, harmonized then, and through many years continued to harmonize, in sentiments of philanthropy to their servants, if not to the world. High in the list, with peculiar appropriateness, occurs the name of Dr. William Thornton, one of the earliest, most self-denying, and enthusiastic advocates of the project of African colonization. Daniel Webster, thus early in his grand career, bears testimony to the value of a movement which, had not cross-grained human nature intervened, would have maintained inviolate both Union and Constitution. Richard Bland Lee, J. Mason, Geo. A. Carroll, Bushrod Washington, and others, gracefully remind us that Maryland and Virginia were as forward in giving their representative men to the cause as they were, afterward, persevering in maintaining colonies under its auspices. William Meade, whose apostolic zeal and happy combination of human learning with Christian graces has made him known and dear to multitudes who never heard his voice, is an appropriate forerunner of the many accomplished divines, from the Episcopal and other Churches, who have since fostered the work. I must forbear for want of time, mentioning only one other name—that of the talented lawyer, Francis S. Key, whose "Star-spangled Banner" will in all likelihood continue to be sung by enthu-

siastic millions in America for centuries to come, as has Luther's battle hymn in Germany for centuries past.

It matters not how we take up the history of this American Colonization Society, in its remote conception, in its birth, through its infancy to a now vigorous youth, always, it bears testimony strong and impregnable that its aims are good—good for America, good for Africa, good for the Church of God.

To give, even succinctly, an account of the development and results of the Society, at home and in its African colony of Liberia, would require so much space that I am unwilling to tax farther the patience of my readers.* I content myself with the broad but emphatic statement that the grand result obtained, and fully compensating for all, and a thousand-fold more than all, its cost, is hope—hope for Africa, hope for the African race in America. Liberia opens the door to a continent, and holds out an excelsior banner to a race. The salvation of the African race in America depends upon their entering that door and grasping that banner. Shakspeare never more singularly exhibited his wonderful talent of seizing at a glance and describing by a word the true characteristics of individuals, classes, and nations than when he called France God's own soldier. Devotion to an idea has given France, since the days of Clovis, preëminence among the nations of Europe. A proof of vanity it may be, but a source of noble deeds, drawing upon it the admiration of Islam no less than of Christendom, is the idea that to France belong the defense and protection of the Christian faith. The salvation of the Western world from the swarming hordes of Sara-

*Dr. S. D. Baldwin well epitomizes the progress made some twenty years since, in the following passage on page 456 of "Dominion:" "For thirty years an experiment of thus redeeming Africa has been under the direction of private benevolence. For ten years a republic, growing out of colonization, has been in prosperous existence; and each successive year has increased the products of the country fifty per cent. Liberia is the most remarkable political phenomenon in history. It alone, of all the nations ever organized, arose without bloodshed. With the most exuberant soil, and the most favorable of climates, with the greatest variety of fruits and indigenous staples, it has advantages for the site of Hamitic dominion which no other part of Africa affords."

cens, the brilliant deeds of two centuries of crusades in Palestine, and in all the East, makes *Frank* synonymous with Christian, justifies this high assumption, and removes it far from the category of empty braggadocio. The idea of liberty, as carried out by self-government, is the basis of American nationality. The development of this idea has given it a place among nations never reached before in so short a period. The abandonment of this idea will speedily consign it to an effete corruption. Every people must have some high ideal after which to aspire. This ideal is its soul; when acted upon, the people have life, and more or less, according to its felt influence. Now, what other ideal is there, or can there be, for the African race in the United States than that which has for a full century been so modestly, yet hopefully, enunciated by themselves—the regeneration of Africa by and through them; and how hopeless all such aspirations but for the good work so patiently performed through the Colonization Society. Thus we have seen the patient labor of a half-century result in the secure establishment of a Christian republic on the western coast of Africa, occupying just the latitudes peculiarly unfit for the labors of Caucasian missionaries, although inhabited by teeming millions of natives in various stages of barbarism. Just contemporary with this result we have another, illustrating the doctrine, so dear to every devout mind, of an overruling and directing Providence. For three thousand years, or more, the Sphynx has been the emblem of Africa. With the exception of a narrow rim, the continent has been a vast unknown region to the active and enterprising nations around, whose emissaries have vainly endeavored to penetrate its recesses and unveil its mysteries. Within a score of years the veil has commenced to rise, the Sphynx is showing its proportions, the riddle is being solved. This remarkable progress in geographical discovery has been compassed mainly through the persevering efforts of Christian missionaries, of whom the heroic Livingstone is a type. Another twenty years of such effort and discovery will make us acquainted with the great features of all central Africa.

As our knowledge of this region extends, we find many tribes with a rude civilization equal, at least, to that of our

own forefathers in the wilds and fastnesses of Germany, less than two thousand years ago, when the Roman legions vainly attempted to penetrate and subdue that region. What Pagan Rome signally failed to do, Christian Rome as signally accomplished, and specially through the extensive German element introduced and incorporated into Rome by the results of several centuries of war. What more reasonable and sober-minded analogy can be drawn from any comparison of past, present, and probable future events, than that the fast-increasing millions of Africans in America, acting upon their own countrymen in Africa, through the firmly secured base line of Liberia, and during century after century, may accomplish a similar wonderful result.

The grandest revolution in the world's history, so far as WE, that is, all Europe and America, are concerned, is the one which changed the great plains of northern, and the mountain fastnesses of central, Europe into the strongholds of Christian faith, learning, art, science, and government. This revolution was the work of not less than ten centuries of continuous effort and struggle. Its history fills volumes upon volumes, from the inspired pen of Paul to the eloquent pages of the pure and charitable Montalembert. Our all is contained in that history. How perfectly rational, by the light of past Providence and the clear words of Holy Scripture, is the belief that the real solution of that problem which for a century has perplexed the minds of our good men and great, of our Washingtons and Jeffersons, our Everetts and Greens, our Finleys and Breckinridges, our Alexanders and Baldwins, to-wit., the problem of Africa in America, will thus find its glorious and happy solution. As Rome, conquered by Germany, redeemed and disenthralled Germany from the depths of barbaric superstition and misery, so may America compensate enslaved Africa for centuries of unchristian violence by imparting to her the light and life of the gospel. In the one case good was returned for evil; in the other, evil is atoned for by good. In both cases the wonder-working providence of the Judge of all the earth overrules evil for good.

Africa in America! How strangely blended together have been the fortunes of the two most contrasted families of the

human race in this great American government from its very conception until now, and how perfectly probable that throughout remote generations so long as the nation endures this intercommunity, shall continue to exist and to exercise as heretofore a predominant influence upon the country at large. Nothing is so durable as race. Even a small remnant of a people will maintain its ground for many centuries, under every disadvantage, external and internal. History is full of examples. We have now some five millions of African people within our borders. In due time their descendants will be the double and the quadruple of this number, which again will be very much increased and fostered by the absorption of the West Indies and the remainder of the North American Continent, evidently a question of merely a few years less or more. These millions will not be everywhere dispersed and assimilated. Just the opposite. They will probably congregate in the cities and towns of the temperate South, and upon the cotton and sugar lands of the more tropical regions. In either case they will remain in large bodies; they will be a people within a people.

Occupying this position, their advancement and welfare will depend very much upon the spirit and wisdom displayed by the surrounding millions toward them. Kindly, considerately, and wisely treated, they will continue as heretofore to be the most valuable portion of the community as a wealth-producing factor, while steadily developing in moral and intellectual qualities. Unwise and unchristian conduct may convert them into pariahs and paupers. They are with us and of us. The thirty-five millions of Caucasians now dwelling between the two oceans have that at stake in their upward or downward progress which cannot be ignored, as will their grandchildren of the one hundred and fifty millions. In the duty so plainly devolved upon America of transforming and Christianizing Africa, all Americans should unite, impelled so to do not less from Christian principle than by due regard to self-interest.

We cannot think of any field for Christian and philanthropic effort so worthy the attention and continued liberality of our Northern brethren as that discussed in this article. A

very large portion of Northern wealth is the result of negro labor. Looking through two centuries, a vast balance is due the negro from the accumulated wealth of the centers of commerce. Let this balance, in some small degree, be promptly reduced by the complete endowment of schools and colleges in Liberia, by the support of numerous missions in all the country contiguous, and by generous efforts to foster and develop the infant republic in every possible direction. Let the work, as yet but just commenced, of supplying schools for general and special instruction of high grade in teachers and outfit, to the African communities in our own land, be vigorously and earnestly pushed forward with reference to long protracted and patient working. To us, knowing somewhat by personal observation of what has been done in the South in this respect, and placing full value upon the work of the many good men and women engaged in teaching in such institutions as Fisk University, and others too numerous to specify, and at the same time knowing how lavish of means the rich men of the North have been in the last ten years for educational purposes, it is matter of astonishment that so little has been done toward the building and endowing of churches, schools, and colleges, for this people. Here is a great work to be done. It ought to be done speedily. It is the natural and appropriate work of the good people of the North.

If the material should come from the North, the spiritual must come from the South. It is with the Southern people that the African always has been and always must be neighbor. A constant contact and association exists. Let the good Christian people of the South quietly, conscientiously, and earnestly contemplate the duties thus imposed upon them as individuals and as a body. Ignoring all the vexations, troubles, and annoyances springing from the untoward events connected with a deep-seated revolution of, for, and in which the good-natured African was certainly as innocent as innocence could be, let the whites cultivate a kindly temper toward them, and show a friendly interest in their well-being. Search the annals of history, and in vain will we seek for another instance in which an enslaved race has deserved so well of its

masters as has this. By two centuries of patient toil they developed and enriched the South. Through four years of internecine civil war no San Domingo hand of revolt, sedition, mutiny, was lifted up by them. They thus demonstrated to all the world that their eight millions of masters were not merciless despots, and that contrary to all outside views a kindly feeling did exist between the two races. On the other hand, when in the vicissitudes of the revolution the masters were disfranchised, and the late slaves became dominant, we know from a wide-extended observation and information that the late masters at least took the change with great patience and good nature. Surely if in the midst of slavery, war, and chaotic government, so much of kindly good feeling prevailed, there can be no doubt but that hereafter the whites and the blacks will live alongside each other with mutual good will and good offices. This is one of the best omens that a prosperous and happy future awaits the African people in America.

In thus reviewing and commenting upon the history of the American Colonization Society, I cannot avoid the reflection now that the record, written in the blood of heroes and the tears of widows and orphans, and sealed with a debt which will burden unborn millions has passed into history, how much to be lamented it is that the gentle, humane, considerate, and peace-making views of its advocates found no favor with the American people, and that each section of the country preferred to follow the counsels of violent and selfish men. *In medio tutissimus ibis.* Reform, not revolution, saves a nation. When the Colonization Society was founded, the friends of emancipation were numerous and influential, and outspoken in all the border States. Born in one of the middle slave States, and, during a life-time, conversant with the people of the border and adjoining States, I am perfectly sure that under the quiet influence of the Constitution, and the active efforts of the Churches, the same results would have followed in these States as in those farther North. The Christian sentiment of the country was in favor of freedom, but it was not in favor of robbery and covenant breaking. Left to work out the problem, a solution would have been found certainly far less costly, perhaps quite as speedy, as that which

has been brought about by the combined action and reaction of the hostile factions whose infuriate or selfish clamor was poured out against all friends of peace and conciliation. Three thousand millions of dollars is a high estimate of the capital invested in slaves when the civil war commenced. The debt incurred by the nation at large for quarreling will not, when properly estimated, be much less. The expenditures by the Confederate States for war purposes could not have been less, while the destruction of cotton, houses, fences, stock, and so on, was, perhaps, much more. Nine thousand millions has been the prime cost in money. No figures can estimate that of life. To the historian of a distant future must be left the task of recording and judging its effects upon the public and private morals of the nation. Hopeful myself of the final result, because I believe that divine Providence has raised up this great republic for a work in the establishment of Christianity comparable to that of Rome itself, yet all candid men must see that American Republicanism has been, and is now, passing through a terrible ordeal, because its leaders have despised the wisdom which is from above, which is gentle, easy to be entreated, and full of good works, and have preferred to follow that which is sensual and devilish, which makes men hateful and hating one another.

As forcibly describing the sentiment above-stated to have widely prevailed through the slave-holding States, I may quote from the works of the illustrious Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, whose name is to-day held in reverence by sixty thousand physicians, and who, in a remarkable degree, united in himself the characteristics of scholar, statesman, orator, physician, philanthropist, and Christian. No man did more than he in shaping public opinion at the time when a pebble thrown upon the surface rippled far and wide. It is taken from a discourse delivered before the American Philosophical Society, in which he alludes to "the labors, the publications, the private letters, and prayers of Anthony Benezet:"

"The State of Pennsylvania still deplores the loss of a man in whom not only reason and revelation, but many of the physical causes that have been enumerated, concurred to

produce such attainments in moral excellency as have seldom appeared in a human being. This amiable citizen considered his fellow-creature, man, as God's extract from his own works; and whether this image of himself was cut out from ebony or copper, whether he spoke his own or a foreign language, or whether he worshiped with ceremonies or without them, he still considered him as a brother, and equally the object of his benevolence. Poets and historians, who are to live hereafter, to you I commit his panegyric; and when you hear of a law for abolishing slavery in each of the American States, such as was passed in Pennsylvania in the year 1780; when you hear of the kings and queens of Europe publishing edicts for abolishing the trade in human souls; and, lastly, when you hear of schools and churches, with all the arts of civilized life, being established among the nations of Africa, then remember and record that this revolution in favor of human happiness was the effect of the labors, the publications, the private letters, and the prayers of Anthony Benezet."

That at one time a wide-spread dissatisfaction with slavery, and a consequent readiness for a wisely-planned emancipation policy, did prevail throughout the South as the fruit of the teachings of great men in the slave-holding States, like Rush, Jefferson, Mason, Randolph, and many others, is perfectly well known to all those acquainted with its literature or social circles. Samuel Davies Baldwin, the acute, the imaginative, the devout, whom the cholera, in 1866, carried off in his meridian of brilliant usefulness, and who left the entire Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in a sorrow and mourning sympathized with by all the admirers of genius and piety, makes a striking allusion to the fact in the following passage, taken from his original and singular book, "Dominion:" "When the Hamites were a burden, and the South, restless under the incubus, would have foregone the gift of Heaven, severing it from the flying train of human advancement, God then rebound the black and the white together by new bonds of wealth. He whitened the Southern fields with new and fleecy riches, and, vivifying our spacious vales with more than cereal plenty, he made the servant a useful tenant to the lord."

Quoting this passage from Dr. Baldwin for the strong words *incubus* and *burden*, we cannot let it go forth without correcting the erroneous impression it conveys, honestly enough, however, from the writer's peculiar stand-point and object. Others, from a different stand-point, and from very different motives, have represented the sudden and blunt stoppage of emancipation as the result of the annexation of Louisiana, Whitney's invention, and cotton culture. A correct analysis of history will show that it was not caused by the consequence of these events, but by political agitation.

But still a stronger testimony. When the Confederate War was scarcely hushed, while as yet weeping and desolation were to be heard and seen from the broad Potomac to the turbid Rio Grande, there came from throughout this wide expanse the deep-drawn sigh of relief and consolation, which found its utterance through the impetuous, frank-spoken Governor Wise, of Virginia, and the versatile, gifted President Longstreet, of Mississippi and South Carolina: "At all events, we are rid of African slavery, thanks be to God!" This utterance, reëchoed by multiplied thousands, shows that we have not judged amiss the Christian South.

In 1834, during a visit to the city of New York, I witnessed the first display of military force called out by the passions of unreasonable men. It was a regiment or two of New York militia, detailed to protect a few industrious African draymen and hackmen from the selfish interference of an Irish mob. Wise men then said that if all these questions were left to the decision of the Christian conscience of the country, it would be well, but that if men seeking office took them up, woe would betide the land. Politicians did enter the arena. Section was arrayed against section, and in 1864 the country, as all will agree, was upon the verge of ruin. That the great Republic was not so broken up, that extensive portions were absorbed by powerful and jealous European nations, which plotted and hoped for our destruction, must be ascribed to a higher Power, and not to our wisdom. Ought not the Christian Churches of our land to have stemmed this torrent of wild, raging passion during all its formative period, by preaching loudly and clearly, "Glory to God in the high-

est, and on earth peace, good will toward men"? By so doing, the storm might have been averted, and certainly its duration and violence would have been greatly lessened. When office-seekers were engaged in arraying section against section, the duty of peace-makers was obvious. To-day another cloud no larger than a man's hand is faintly seen all around the horizon. Mutterings of a storm fill the atmosphere. If that storm breaks, the mighty convulsions we have so recently witnessed will sink into insignificance in the comparison. Let us give heed to the signs of the time. Let us remember that *reform*, not *revolution*, has given stability and permanence to the institutions of our grand old mother, Great Britain. Let us also remember that this English spirit of peaceful reform, as contrasted with bloody French revolution, is an offshoot of Bible Christianity. Let us preach peace always: peace between sections, peace between classes. So will it come to pass that the North American Continent will become the grandest theater of all those arts, sciences, and virtues, begotten and fostered of peace, ever gilded by the rays of the effulgent globe which is the emblem of our Master, the Prince of Peace, the Sun of Righteousness.